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ABSTRACT

The Gulf Crisis that erupted in August, 1990 brought Jordan widespread economic devastation, increased poverty, the threat of hunger, health setbacks, and other hardships. Just as the country's economy was beginning to pull out of a lingering recession, Jordan was struck by the economic embargo against Iraq, the influx of over a million evacuees or repatriates, and the war itself. The results were economic collapse and massive human displacement. Some 50,000 jobs of family members working in Kuwait and Iraq were lost, relegating nearly one in three Jordanians to life near or below the poverty line. Results of a rapid assessment study conducted by the United Nation's Children's Fund (UNICEF) in late 1990 confirmed the devastating impact of the war on the nation's poor in the areas of nutrition, health care, education, and the long-term effects of hunger, illness, and interrupted education. Malnutrition and ill health threaten over 250,000 children under the age of 12. The health system is under pressure from increased demand, bottlenecks in importing medicine, the rising cost of health care, declining hygiene, and increasing ignorance about health. Even though many poor children cannot afford the costs of attending school, the education system is under pressure from immigrants and students who can no longer afford private education. Jordan urgently needs international assistance in expanding job opportunities for the poor, assuring affordable food prices, maintaining minimum nutrition standards, protecting access to health services, and stemming a possible deterioration in educational quality. (AC)

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Homeless Children in the Eye of the Storm

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Jordanian Children in the Eye of the Storm

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Jordanian Children in the Eye of the Storm

For most countries of the Middle East, the Gulf crisis that erupted in August 1990 has brought fresh political confrontation, domestic dislocation and economic uncertainty. For one country -- the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan -- it has brought instant, widespread economic devastation, rising poverty, the threat of impending hunger, and hardship and health setbacks at the family level. The crisis has made a very difficult situation nearly unbearable for hundreds of thousands of poor Jordanians.

Within months, Jordan has been transformed into a vulnerable and troubled country in urgent need of international assistance. A small country with a tradition of support for others -- whether Palestinians, Lebanese, Sudanese or recent Arab and Asian evacuees from the Gulf countries -- now finds itself urgently needing practical support to get through its own national disaster.

Viewed until recently as an example of how a country of modest means could give the vulnerable of its population, especially children, high levels of sustained protection, Jordan has now been staggered by a maelstrom of economic decline and severe human displacement. The ravage continues on a daily basis. The impact on the health, nutrition, education and social welfare of the most vulnerable poor of Jordan has been swift and widespread -- and the immediate future appears equally grim.

The first signs of slippage

To gauge the impact at family level and to pick up early warning signs of impending danger to the health and welfare of poor children and women, in November/December 1990 UNICEF conducted a nationally

representative rapid assessment of hundreds of low-income Jordanian families. In the 34 communities surveyed, further corroborative evidence was also obtained from teachers, doctors and health workers, who know their communities and can identify negative trends at an early stage.

The assessment provides explicit and dramatic confirmation that Jordan's economic decline is devastating poor and low-income families -- with women and children bearing the brunt of the suffering. This is Jordan in early 1991:

- The monthly incomes of tens of thousands of families, comprising half a million women and children, have vanished totally or are substantially reduced;
- Nearly one out of every three Jordanians -- perhaps one million people -- live near or below the poverty line;
- Malnutrition and ill-health threaten over a quarter of a million children under the age of 12;
- Health care and education systems are under intense pressure, as many poor families cannot afford to see a doctor or buy medicine, and students from poor families are listless from malnourishment or absent from school because they cannot afford their basic school needs;
- Tens of thousands of pregnant and nursing mothers, and women of child-bearing age, are threatened by higher maternal mortality and morbidity;
- Deteriorating environmental health and home hygiene standards may be laying the foundation for a resurgence of contagious diseases that were virtually eliminated from the landscape in recent years.

The Gulf crisis sent Jordan reeling at a delicate moment, when the economy was just starting to absorb the social cost of economic adjustment, pull out of a lingering recession, and return to a path of sustained growth. The regional economic slowdown which started in 1983 peaked in Jordan in 1988, when foreign exchange reserves ran dry. The currency was devalued and an economic adjustment programme was formulated with the IMF and the World Bank. From August 1988 to August 1990, Jordan turned the corner. The budget and balance of payments deficits shrank, foreign exchange reserves were rebuilt, and the economy had begun to expand again.

The social cost, however, was substantial. Unemployment doubled to 20%. The percentage of Jordanian families living below the poverty line increased by 15% in 24 months, to around 23% of all families.

A vulnerable economic moment

At this moment of social and economic vulnerability, when unemployment, poverty and human suffering were all rising, the Gulf crisis struck Jordan with three successive body blows: the economic embargo against Iraq, the influx of over a million evacuees or repatriates, and the war itself. The embargo and the massive human dislocation in autumn 1990 shattered the economic gains of the previous two years of adjustment, and the start of the war in January 1991 threatened to bury them for many years. Nevertheless, and despite its already over-stretched economy, in both instances Jordan responded quickly to the needs of evacuees crossing its border.

Iraq and Kuwait together represented Jordan's single biggest export market, and a major source of private remittances and official aid. Applying the U.N.-mandated trade embargo against Iraq in 1990 cost Jordan over $1.5 billion in lost income from exports, transit trade, private remittances, debt repayments and official aid -- a full 39% of its gross domestic product (GDP). The 1991 loss could reach $3.6 billion, or 77% of GDP. Jordan requested compensation on the basis of article 50 of the U.N. Charter. But by January 1991 Jordan had received just $350 million in loans and grants. As an envoy sent by the U.N. Secretary-General in late 1990 to assess the state of the Jordanian economy reported: "Jordan is

Clutching to a disappearing straw of hope...

Poor and vulnerable families cannot continue to absorb blow after blow, without suffering feelings of despair and helplessness.

- One mother said that "we are becoming like the people of Africa, thin, poor, sick and dying".
- Another mother, unable to feed her children and disabled husband, said she prayed that God would take one or two family members so that she could afford to keep the rest alive.
- In one family where 11 people had to share two blankets, the mother said she wished she were an evacuee from Iraq or Kuwait -- so that she could provide her family with sufficient food, blankets, clean water and warm shelter.
- A mother from Rabba, an agricultural region in central Jordan, sent her son and daughters to an orphanage, where they could be assured of food, clothing and education which she could not provide.
- A mother in Madaba refugee camp said, "We were protected from poverty and hunger by a straw, but since the Gulf crisis even that frail straw is disappearing."

not the target of the embargo, but it may be its greatest victim."

Economic collapse has been accompanied by massive human displacement. In the first six months of the Gulf crisis, well over one million people fleeing the crisis zone entered Jordan. This is one-third of the entire Jordanian population -- the equivalent of 85 million people suddenly showing up at the doorstep of the United States and requiring shelter, food, medical care and transport home. Nearly a quarter of a million Jordanians returned home to an economy that could not easily meet their employment, housing, health and education needs. Over 865,000 nationals from India, Egypt, Sudan, Syria, Yemen, Turkey, the Philippines, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and a score of other countries needed emergency services. To meet their needs, the cash-strapped and heavily-indebted Jordanian government spent $55 million -- but had been compensated for only $13 million by mid-January 1991. The humanitarian operation was carried out flawlessly, leading the president of the United Nations General Assembly to say that "the world owed Jordan a debt of gratitude" for its humanitarian response.

The growing circle of poverty

The outbreak of the war in mid-January boded ill for the already negative economic and demographic picture for Jordan and is pushing the country closer to the edge of large-scale economic deterioration and human suffering. The consequences: as unemployment and poverty increase further, and more and more families are unable to assure all their basic human needs, the health and education standards of hundreds of thousands of children and women will come under greater pressure.

Government surveys show that between

mid-1988 and mid-1990 Jordanians who lived below the poverty line (mean monthly income of JD 89, or $135, per household) increased from around 20% to 23% of the entire population. Due to the impact of the Gulf crisis and war, this figure has increased briskly, perhaps to close to 30% of all families -- which would mean a total of about one million Jordanians. The absolute poor, who cannot afford minimum school supplies, medical care, shelter, or food, have also increased from the 3% of the population they represented in 1988, though the exact magnitude of the absolute poor today has not been quantified. Some estimates put it around 5%, or over 150,000 people. The overall measure of Jordanian family income levels makes grim reading: in the last four

The poor sink deeper into debt

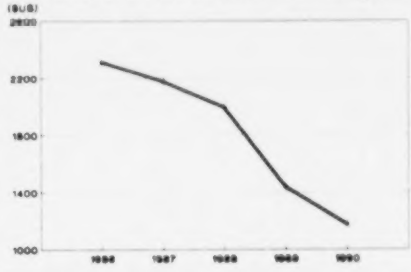
Rising unemployment and inflation have both been aggravated by the Gulf war crisis, and have pushed tens of thousands of families deeper into debt, as the UNICEF rapid assessment survey confirmed.

- Most mothers in urban areas said they are in debt to shopkeepers or relatives.
- In the Jordan Valley, most women said their farmer husbands were already in debt to landlords and suppliers; the abrupt end of agricultural exports to Iraq and the Gulf increased their debts significantly in 1990.
- The mayor of a rural village in northeast Jordan estimated that 60% of the families in his village have seen their monthly income drop to below JD 70 ($100) a month.
- A mother of 10 in Baqa'a recounted that since her husband lost his job as a truck driver last year, they now live on the $3 a day he brings in from fishing in the reservoir of the King Talal Dam.

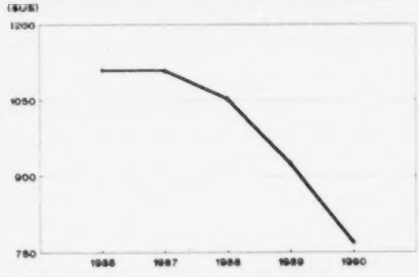
Fig. 1 Family incomes feel the pinch

In the last four years, poor and low-income families in Jordan have suffered a steady drop in their real purchasing power, due to a decline in real per capita income during a period of consistently rising inflation, as indicated in the graphs below:

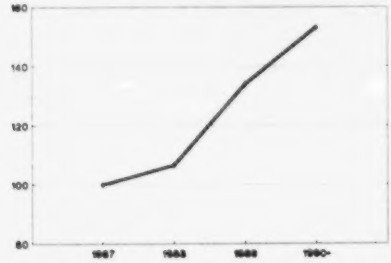
Jordan's Current GNP Per Capita



Jordan's Real GNP Per Capita



Jordan Cost of Living Index



Sources: Central Bank of Jordan, Ministry of Planning and economists' estimates.

years, per capita real gross national product declined by over 30%, from $1108 in 1987 to an estimated $765 in 1990 (at current exchange rates).

The spread of poverty is already visible among low-income squatter families in Amman. Figures from household surveys conducted by the Amman municipality show that the median household income of $180 in 1985 declined to $158 in 1990. These figures, which do not fully account for the decline since the outbreak of the Gulf crisis, mean that the typical poor family in these squatter areas earns less in 1990 than it did in 1980, while prices rose sharply during that period.

The Gulf crisis wiped out some 50,000 jobs, and relegated tens of thousands of families to instant poverty. The pain of unemployment is compounded because each Jordanian breadwinner supports an average of six other family members. According to official statistics and economists' estimates, unemployment has tripled in the last 30 months, from 10% to at least 30% -- and it is still rising. The resurgent cohorts of jobless are making themselves felt throughout the land. In Amman municipality, for example, job applications rose over threefold after the Gulf crisis hit in August; between the first and second halves of 1990, they increased by 60%.

Tens of thousands of Jordanian families -- economists estimate as many as 56,000 families -- have lost income from family members who worked in Kuwait, Iraq and other Gulf countries. At the bottom of the economic ladder, destitute families without a wage-earner in the house rely on whatever the mother or children can earn, beg or secure as handouts from friends, neighbours and institutional benefactors.

Poor families are caught in an ever-tightening squeeze of declining real incomes, rising prices, and fewer government subsidies on essential goods and services. The rest of society, similarly squeezed, cannot extend the relief aid it provided in

The grave face of human need

After two years of economic adjustment and as a consequence of the Gulf crisis, the statistical face of human need and economic shortfall in Jordan is more sharply profiled, and more grave:

- Families receiving cash assistance from the Ministry of Social Development increased by 8.5% last year, to 38,000.
- Families assisted by the General Union of Voluntary Societies increased by 50% in 1990, to 15,000.
- The Zakat Fund, which disburses funds raised through alms-giving by Muslims, reports a 40% increase last year in its beneficiary families, from 25,000 to 35,000.
- One church-related charitable organization reports that in the last four months of 1990 its monthly cash aid to needy families increased from $3,750 to $47,100 -- nearly a 13-fold rise.

better times. The safety net that offered the needy a last resort of relief has almost totally collapsed. The poor are left with no options, and little hope.

While the poor suffer most, economic pressures beset the entire population. Some professional and middle class families also experience embarrassing delays in paying their monthly grocery bills, a situation which shopkeepers say has worsened since August 1990.

At the Industrial Development Bank, the default rate in 1990 rose to one out of every eight loans, while total loan applications declined by 20%.

Early warning signs

The UNICEF rapid assessment provides early warning signs of regression that will worsen as the crisis continues. The assessment covered families whose monthly incomes ranged from JD 50-150 ($75-$225). Further evidence of the plight of the poor was gleaned from structured interviews with doctors, health workers, teachers and school administrators, professionals who are in touch with and sensitive to the household status, needs and constraints of their fellow members of the community.

"Tomatoes are our fruit..."

Incidents encountered by the assessment teams highlight the gravity of the food and nutrition predicament of the very poorest Jordanian families:

- An entire family of 11 people in Zerqa usually dines on two eggs and one onion, supplemented by bread and tea;
- Families carefully ration fruits -- when they can afford them -- such as a family in north Jordan which provides one tangerine per child per week;
- Asked about her family's fruit consumption, one mother replied: "Tomatoes are our fruit. We can't afford anything else."
- When one child asked his mother for an apple, and she could not provide one for lack of money, she drew him a picture of an apple on paper, and asked him to remember how an apple tasted;
- A woman in Amman shopping for lentils buys from the slightly dirtier bag of lentils sold as chicken-feed, because it is 70 fils (11 cents) per kilo cheaper than the cleaner lentils for human consumption;
- Most poor families buy less milk, and more rice, providing the bulk that alleviates hunger pangs but reducing the nutritional value required for healthy growth;
- A family in central Jordan cannot give daily breakfasts to all its children, so half the children eat breakfast one day and the other half eat it the next day;
- Some mothers find it more difficult to maintain breast-feeding, because they are anaemic and exhausted;
- Tea and bread are the most common food for the poor, with tea serving as an appetite suppressor rather than a source of nutrition;
- A mother in one town never takes her children to the market any more, because she cannot stand the pain of not being able to buy them the fruits they see there.

The assessment covered 34 low-income communities, chosen from an up-to-date sampling frame to represent the national range of low-income households. They comprise the three main community types in the country -- the 64% of Jordanians in towns and cities, farming families in the highlands and the Jordan Valley, and settled nomads in desert villages. The average household size ranged from a minimum of 6 to a maximum of 15 persons. The assessment used open-ended questions and discussion to ensure that interviewers did not impose preconceptions on the respondents with structured "yes" or "no" questions. Mothers were interviewed in focus-group sessions and at home. Respondents gave a dramatic and remarkably consistent picture.

Multiple impact on poor families

Based on the assessment's initial findings, the impact on the Jordanian poor can be seen in several distinct sectors:

Nutrition: The assessment findings show that sustained nutritional deficiency bordering on hunger is a new, real and growing phenomenon in Jordan -- unprecedented since the first wave of destitute refugees flooded into the country in 1948. The poor survive on a diet which consists largely of bread, tea, tomatoes, lentils and onions. Eggs, fresh fruits and green vegetables are rare. Even more rare are meat and dairy products, bought only on religious holidays or those intermittent days when a family member earns a wage. Many poor families often do not have enough money even to take advantage of the government's coupons for subsidized essential foodstuffs.

Anaemia and malnutrition among women and children are on the rise again -- reversing the nutrition gains which Jordan had achieved in the previous two decades. Teachers report the unprecedented phenomenon of drowsy and listless students who cannot concentrate, and sometimes even faint -- because they do not get enough nutritious food at home. An estimated 200,000-300,000 children under the age of 12 -- nearly one out of every five children in that age group -- are directly threatened by the short- and long-term consequences of malnutrition.

Health care: The poor have suffered a visible decline in access to and quality of health care. Fewer families can afford to see private doctors, thus increasing pressures on government health facilities. The rapid assessment found that the number of patients seen by government doctors and nurses has risen sharply throughout the country, by up to 200% in some clinics.

The health system is under pressure due to increased demand, bottlenecks in importing medicine, and the rising cost of health care following the 50% devaluation of the dinar since 1989. The government's store of essential drugs was depleted in late 1990 to help evacuees transiting through Jordan. Now replenished, it is again at risk of another emergency. Some doctors now prescribe only half the normal dose of medicines to poor families who cannot afford the full dose, even from government-subsidized pharmacies.

Jordan's relatively high maternal health standards could suffer from the economic crisis.

Impressive health gains threatened

Jordan prides itself on the quality of its health care, and the protection it offers children. It is one of ten countries in the world to have achieved the fastest reduction in infant mortality over the last two decades. It was two years ahead of the average rate of the rest of the world in achieving universal child immunization. Its rates of literacy, education, and access to health services and clean water are among the highest in the developing world, and in many cases approach rates in the industrialized states of the north. Yet, all this could be jeopardized or lost if the current economic implosion is not arrested, and reversed.

Deteriorating environmental health and personal hygiene conditions in poor households and neighbourhoods could cause a resurgence in child-killing communicable diseases. Barely able to cover their housing, food and education expenses, some poor families are having to do with less clean water, soap, and other family hygiene needs. The prevalence of lice, skin infections and other hygiene-related diseases is rising, after declining for years.

Because some poor families living in unsanitary conditions make fewer visits to health centres and doctors, they run the added risk of missing out on information on good preventive health habits. Unchecked, this trend of declining hygiene and rising health ignorance could whittle away at Jordan's impressive gains in protecting its young against the leading child killer diseases, such as measles, pneumonia and severe diarrhoeal dehydration.

Education: For the poor, education is the main escape route from their subsistence existence. Yet, due to the impact of the Gulf crisis, some families cannot afford even the few dinars required to provide their children with basic school items, such as pencils, crayons, notebooks, math sets, and mandatory sports clothing and shoes. Many poor families have to find the money for schooling by cutting back on food purchases, or selling furniture, wedding jewelry, heaters, clothes or anything else of value. Not all succeed. Some families succumb to mounting economic pressures, and send their children to earn money in the street, rather than to acquire knowledge at school.

Quality of education itself is under pressure from the rising demand for government schooling. This reflects several factors, such as, according to the Ministry of Education, the sudden influx in August-September 1990 of over 40,000 students who returned from the Gulf (at an additional cost of $5.6 million to the government). Other factors are a shift of students from private to less costly government schools, and the existing pressures of a very young population (50% under the age of 15) growing at the rate of 3.6% a year. More schools are operating in double shifts, and there is an increase in the number of classes which have one teacher for 50-60 students.

Long-term threats: The pains of hunger, illness and interrupted education hide a more destructive, long-term time-bomb that will exact its toll on both individuals and society as a whole. Malnourished and anaemic pregnant and nursing mothers are at greater risk of relatively higher maternal mortality and morbidity during and after childbirth. The painful evidence is already starting to come in: mothers are delivering more low birthweight or stillborn babies. In the last quarter of 1990, two major government hospitals reported that 30% of all newborns were low birth-weight babies of under 2.5 kg. This is in marked contrast to a 5-10% low birthweight average for Jordan before the crisis, and 12% for the entire Middle East and North Africa region.

Eighty percent of a human's brain cells develop in the first two years of life. Consequently, nutritionally deprived infants will endure a lifetime of vulnerability due to setbacks in the development of their central nervous systems. If they survive past the age of five, these infants will always be more likely to suffer stunted physical and mental development. They will be subject to higher risks of disability, greater susceptibility to common ailments and disease, learning problems, and a lower general level of mental alertness and comprehension.

Struggling to stay in school...

- In one urban neighbourhood, girls from adjacent families split up into morning and afternoon shifts -- because they have to share the same school uniforms.
- A mother in Madaba bought one large size sports uniform, so that all her sons could use it at school.
- In a Jordan Valley agricultural village, none of the five children of a share-cropper's family go to school, because they are needed to help work the land.
- The rapid assessment survey by UNICEF documented a few families who have stopped sending their children to school -- rather than see them suffer shame, humiliation or punishment for coming to school without the necessary supplies or uniforms.

Coming to grips with street people and children

In the worst cases of poverty, the cohesion of traditionally tightly-knit nuclear and extended families is fraying along the seams of the pockets of urban poverty. In a society where family and tribal ties are the bedbrock of personal identity, economic succour and social protection, this is a loud danger signal. The signs are there for all to see. More children sell or beg on the streets of Jordan, alongside the painful new spectacle of older men and women quietly rummaging through the garbage cans of the better off. There is no firm data on the extent or nature of these phenomena. Their cause, though, is poverty, and these are some of poverty's agonizing symptoms:

- The UNICEF assessment found families whose young boys disappear from home and return without explanation with money, food or clothing.
- A mother in Aqaba recounted the case of a small boy who steals clothes hangers from his school, which he sells in order to buy food.
- Teachers report a rise in incidents of schoolchildren stealing sandwiches and stationery from one another.
- There are reports from around the country of clothing and blankets stolen off laundry lines -- a new phenomenon for Jordan.

Most 6-to-15-year-olds who drop out of school can look forward to an adulthood of unskilled, low-wage employment, at best, and life-long destitution and despair, at worst -- a liability to their country, rather than a productive, creative asset. They will draw disproportionately on public health care facilities for the rest of their lives. Some will require special care and facilities to deal with their chronic deficiencies -- at a financial and human cost to be borne by future generations.

Jordan and the world: a partnership for action

The cumulative impact of economic adjustment and the Gulf war crisis intensifies financial pressures on vulnerable families. Jordan can come back. But it needs urgent assistance in the short term to get through this pressing moment without relegating hundreds and thousands of its most vulnerable children and women to a lifetime of poor health and low educational standards.

The government, NGOs and the private sector are urgently exploring the best means of working together to achieve two related aims: to reactivate the economy in light of the new regional realities, and to re-establish the safety net for the poor and vulnerable. The cost of immediate action is considerable. But the human cost of doing nothing is considerably more.

The government of Jordan, UNICEF and other concerned parties wish to act quickly to minimize the long-term damage that would occur if the present human consequences of widescale economic decline were left unchecked. The focus of action is on building a safety net around the most vulnerable families, to protect them in the short term and to help them to help themselves in the long term. A partnership of action bringing together the government, NGOs, the private sector and international friends is required to mobilize all domestic and international capabilities that can stem the tide of poverty and redress the vicious cycle of human suffering. The components of such action should include:

Educated and literate women are pivotal to Jordan's good child protection record -- but they are very likely to suffer health and education setbacks due to the current economic emergency.

- Expanding job and income-generating opportunities for the poor, through public works schemes or community-based training schemes;
- Assuring affordable prices of food, water, and other essentials, by targeting subsidies on basic life-preserving commodities at the poorest families;
- Maintaining minimum nutrition standards, through ongoing monitoring to identify women and children at risk, followed by feeding programmes, provision of supplements, promotion of breast-feeding, and other nutrition and health education activities;
- Protecting access to basic health services, by assuring availability and affordability of essential drugs, training medical personnel to identify and reach those most at risk, sustaining child protection levels in immunization and diarrhoea-control, and expanding the scope and reach of health education programmes;
- Checking a possible deterioration in education quality due to household poverty and over-crowded schools, by assuring essential school supplies, expanding school health programmes, and helping the poorest families obtain school uniforms, books and other essentials.

Assuring a future for Jordan's children

The situation in Jordan and the Middle East remains in great flux. Tensions and passions are high. The future is uncertain.

Jordan has an outstanding record of caring for and protecting its children. This record of rapidly diminished infant death rates and a constantly improving quality of life for the young is now under fire, threatened by a crisis and war not of Jordan's making. The world must not stand by and watch Jordan pay the price for this crisis in the health and lives of its most vulnerable women and children. Jordan, as always, is already taking urgent steps to protect its children, its most valuable resource. But Jordan cannot do this alone. It needs the understanding, solidarity and active support of the international community -- now. ■

A note about sources:

The statistics and quantitative economic assessments in this booklet are based on published sources, including Jordanian government data, recent reports written or commissioned by United Nations agencies, and studies by respected Jordanian economists. In cases where alternative data exists, the figure used is that deemed most accurate by the UNICEF Jordan field office. Following is a list of the most important sources:

- Economic Adjustment with a Human Face: The Case of Jordan, Dr Jawad Anani, a study commissioned by UNICEF, 1990.
- The Impact of the Gulf Crisis on the Jordanian Economy, a report by the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia, 1990.
- Report on a Mission to Jordan, Jean Ripert, special envoy of the United Nations Secretary General to assess economic problems resulting from compliance with Security Council Resolution 661, October 1990.
- Financial Impact of the Gulf Crisis on Egypt, Jordan and Turkey, International Monetary Fund, October 1990.
- (Untitled) A study of the impact of the Gulf crisis on the Jordanian economy, Dr Fahed Fanek, a study commissioned by UNICEF, December 1990.
- Implications of the Gulf Crisis on Jordanian Families, UNICEF, December 1990.
- Central Bank of Jordan Monthly Statistical Bulletin, November 1990.
- The Gulf Crisis: Jordan Incremental Financial Impact; Regional Security, Towards a Broader Definition. Government of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, November 1990.

Table 1. External financial losses of Jordan arising from Security Council resolution 661 (1990) and the Middle East Crisis

(millions of dollars)

	1990	1991
Losses attributable to resolution 661		
Export-related losses	229	756
Losses of earnings from services		
Transportation	103	340
Workers' remittances	122	318
Travel (tourism)	274	487
Higher oil import cost	138	479
Iraqi debt not being repaid	110	145
Total losses attributable to resolution 661	976	2525
Other losses associated with the crisis		
Additional losses in foreign earnings		
Other Gulf transportation	35	115
Other Gulf workers' remittances	91	238
Other services	49	129
Budgetary losses (foreign exchange)		
Kuwaiti grants not deliverable	75	185
Other grants not received	235	415
Disbursements from Kuwaiti-based development institutions not received	35	40
Committee for Repatriation of Third Country Evacuees: Outstanding expenses	48	–
Total other losses	568	1122
Total losses	**1544**	**3647**
GDP	4250	4760
Total Losses as % of GDP	36%	77%

(Source: Government of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan.)

Table 2. Recent Economic Indicators

	1986	88	89	90*
External public debt (JDm.)		3837	5409	
Internal public debt (JDm.)	415	922	995	
Imports (JDm.)	850	1022	1230	
Domestic exports (JDm.)	226	325	534	
Re-exports (JDm.)	30	57	103	
Trade balance (debit, JDm.)	594	641	592	
Cost of living index	100	106	134	
Wholesale price index	138	153	204	
GNP in 1986 prices (JDm.)	2025	2066	1888	1634*
Population (millions)	2.739	2.946	3.064	3.178*
Real GNP per capita (JD)	739	702	616	513*
Current GNP per capita (US$)	2310	1990	1436	1174*

(Source: Government of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, except for 1990 figures marked with an * which are researchers' estimates.)